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ABSTRACT

The migration patterns of college and university students in Virginia are described in relation to other states, public and private institutions, male and female students, student educational level, the migration deficit, and future migration patterns. Based on 1968 statistics the out-migration of Virginia students exceeds the in-migration of out-of-state students. The total migration deficit of 1968 is 14,770 students. The future migration pattern is seen in relation to the recent educational developments. (MJM)

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COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT MIGRATION: The Case of Virginia

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In 1968, there were 14,770 more Virginians who attended colleges and universities outside the State than came from other states to attend Virginia institutions. Five years earlier, the net migration of Virginians to other states was 10,200,[1] thus continuing a trend first observed in 1949 (see **Table 1**). Prior to that time the migration of college students into Virginia exceeded the number going out of the State.

VIRGINIA AND OTHER STATES

A look at Virginia's place in the national pattern shows that Virginia ranks 6th among the 50 states and the District of Columbia in the exporting of college and university students. The 5 states which exceed Virginia's net exportation of 14,770 students are New Jersey (-98,710), New York (-55,176), Illinois (-32,454), Connecticut (-21,125), and Maryland (-15,327).

In terms of the net migration of college and university students imported over those exported, Virginia ranked third among the states in 1938. Its rank dropped to 38 in 1949, to 43 in 1958, and to 46 in 1968,[2] which reflects the 14,770 deficit of that year.

Still another look at student migration can be based on the proportion of students who remain in their own state to attend college. In 1922, the national average was 76 percent; by 1963 the percentage had increased to 81 and five years later to 83. On this scale Virginia ranks low with a retention rate of 66 percent in 1968 when 39,313 Virginians attended institutions in other states as against 75,653 who stayed at home. In the nation, the 6 states with the highest retention rates in percentages were California (94), Texas (94), Utah (93), Michigan (92), Louisiana (92), and Oklahoma (90).

In 1968, the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, in that order, attracted the greatest number of Virginians. As for the reverse flow, the states of origin of the largest numbers were, in order, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The net exchange of students between Virginia and these jurisdictions is shown in **Table 2**. Virginia sent 9,893 more students to the District of Columbia and the 6 states than it received. And this excess of outgoing students accounted for 67 percent of Virginia's total of 14,770 net outmigration of students leaving the State over those entering.

How does Virginia fare in comparison with its neighboring states as a net exporter of students? The answer is a simple one: all its neighbors, except Maryland, had a higher net inmigration. In terms of numbers, Maryland exported 15,327 more students than it imported. In contrast, North Carolina had 23,556 more incoming than outgoing students. The same was true of Tennessee (+20,037), West Virginia (+9,741), and Kentucky (+8,892).

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

The absence or presence of strong and numerous private colleges and universities doubtless influences the flow of students into and out of a state. In 1968, a total of 24,650 Virginia students attended private colleges and universities in other states. During that same year, 11,701 students from other states enrolled in Virginia's private institutions, making a net outmigration of 12,949 students in the private sector alone.

In the public sector in 1968, 14,663 Virginia residents left the State to attend public colleges and universities elsewhere and, in reverse, 12,842 out-of-state residents came to Virginia's public institutions. Thus, so far as the public colleges and universities are concerned, Virginia's outmigration in net terms was only 1,821 students.

The tendency for Virginians to go outside the State to attend private institutions in a much greater proportion than those who go outside to a public college or university follows the national trend. In terms of numbers, in 1968 there were 75,064 Virginians who attended public colleges and universities, of which 19.5 percent went out of the State. In that same year,

1. The other data presented in this article come largely from reports of surveys completed by the U. S. Office of Education. See Mabel C. Rice and Panel Mason, Residence and Migration of College Students (1963) and George H. Wade, Residence and Migration of College Students (1968).

2. Charles S. Gossman and others, Migration of College and University Students in the United States (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), p. 111.

HE 004414

TABLE 1 / COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT MIGRATION FOR SELECTED YEARS

Years	Virginians to Other States	Other States to Virginia	Net Migration
1922[a]	- 2,312	+ 4,146	+ 1,834
1930	- 3,500	+ 6,808	+ 3,308
1938	- 4,446	+10,013	+ 5,567
1949	-14,370	+12,695	- 1,675
1958	-15,725	+12,411	- 3,314
1963	-26,439	+16,239	- 10,200
1968	-39,313	+24,543	- 14,770

a. See James R. Connor, "Outmigration and Inmigration of College Students in Virginia," 40 The University of Virginia Newsletter 45-48 (August 15, 1964).

39,902 Virginians attended private institutions, of which 61.8 percent enrolled in another state.

MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS

Some interesting differences appear when the migration of male and female students is compared. In 1968, for example, 24,477 male and 14,836 female residents of Virginia attended colleges and universities in other states. On the incoming side, 13,398 male and 11,145 female students came from other states to enroll in a Virginia institution. Thus, the excess outmigration of 11,079 male students far exceeded the excess outmigration of 3,691 females.

In 1968, the U. S. Office of Education reported an enrollment of 100,196 students in Virginia's public and private institutions (see **Table 3**). It is clear from this table that among the male Virginians who attend a college or university in Virginia almost four times as many go to public institutions as to private ones. About the same ratio prevailed for Virginia women attending institutions in Virginia. The pattern was quite different, however, for non-residents attending Virginia colleges and universities. The out-of-state men continued to favor Virginia's public institutions while the predominant preference of out-of-state women was Virginia's private institutions.

STUDENT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

The 1963 and 1968 reports of the U. S. Office of Education provide information on student migration in terms of three educational levels. Each of these three levels contributed to Virginia's increasing migration deficit between 1963 and 1968, although the relative contributions changed somewhat during that period. In 1963, undergraduates accounted for 66.1 percent of Virginia's migration deficit, first professionals 0.4 percent, and graduate students 33.5 percent. In 1968, the undergraduate proportion decreased slightly, accounting for 64.2 percent of Virginia's migration deficit; first professionals with 1.1 percent; and graduate students with 34.7 percent showed a slight increase.

A look at the pattern for undergraduate Virginians leaving the State as shown in **Table 4** indicates that they were predominantly men and attended private more often than public institutions. The same finding was true for first professional and graduate students. On the other hand, undergraduates who came to Virginia from other states were about equally divided between men and women and between public and private institutions. Among the first professionals who came to Virginia in 1968, however, much the largest number attended public institutions, as was also the case for graduate students.

VIRGINIA AND SELECTED STATES

The District of Columbia looms large in the consideration of the migration deficit. Virginia residents numbering 7,872 were attending colleges and universities in the District of Columbia in 1968; in reverse, only 639 students from the District were enrolled in Virginia institutions for a migration deficit of 7,233 students. Among the Virginians who went to the District, there were 5,586 men and 2,286 women; 15 enrolled in public institutions and 7,857 in private ones; 3,556 were undergraduates (1,923 full-time and 1,633 part-time); 477 were first professionals; and 3,839 were graduate students.

In North Carolina, 8,346 Virginia residents were enrolled in that state's colleges and universities in 1968. Since only 1,717 North Carolinians attended Virginia institutions, there was a migration deficit of 6,629 students. Among the Virginians who went to North Carolina were 4,924 men and 3,422 women; 3,152 enrolled in public institutions and 5,194 in private ones; 7,759 were undergraduates (7,553 full-time and 206 part-time); 139 were first professionals; and 448 were graduate students. Most of these Virginians (6,780) attended 4-year colleges and universities but a sizeable number (1,566) attended 2-year colleges, mostly private ones.

In the case of New Jersey, Virginia experienced a migration surplus of 2,604 students in 1968, importing 2,937 and exporting 333. Among the New Jersey residents coming to Virginia were 1,612 men and 1,325 women; 1,610 enrolled in public institutions and 1,327 in private ones; 2,731 were undergraduates (2,675 full-time and 56 part-time); 100 were first professionals; and 106 were graduate students. Most of these students (2,713) attended 4-year colleges and universities in Virginia.

How may one explain the large migration deficits between Virginia and

TABLE 2 / NET MIGRATION BETWEEN VIRGINIA AND SELECTED STATES, 1968

	Net Migration[a]
Between the District of Columbia and Virginia	-7,233
Between North Carolina and Virginia	-6,629
Between Tennessee and Virginia	-2,507
Between New Jersey and Virginia	+2,604
Between New York and Virginia	+1,537
Between Pennsylvania and Virginia	+1,265
Between Maryland and Virginia	+1,070
Net Deficit	**-9,893**

a. A minus means, for example, that Virginia sent 7,233 more students to the District of Columbia than it received.

TABLE 3 / STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN VIRGINIA'S PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS, 1968

	Virginia Residents	Out-of-State Residents	Totals
Men			
Public	33,685	8,759	42,444
Private	8,613	4,639	13,252
Subtotal	42,298	13,398	55,696
Women			
Public	26,716	4,083	30,799
Private	6,639	7,062	13,701
Subtotal	33,355	11,145	44,500
Grand Total	**75,653**	**24,543**	**100,196**

the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Tennessee? No single explanation appears likely. In the case of the District, however, it may well be that large numbers of residents in Northern Virginia are attracted to the strong private institutions in the District, in part because the students may remain at home and thus reduce the cost of attending college. This may be especially true in the case of the large number of Virginians who go into the District for graduate study (3,839 in 1968), although it is probable that many of these are part-time students.

Historically, the District of Columbia has enrolled more non-residents than residents in higher education institutions. In 1968, over three-fourths (76 percent) of the 61,315 students enrolled in the District were from the outside. Maryland and Virginia combined contributed some 37 percent of this inmigration. It is true that many of the residents in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs of the District are professional people employed by the Federal government. These persons place a high value on college and university study for themselves and for their children. This demand, as shown by the heavy movement to the District, was not being met in 1968 by Virginia and Maryland colleges and universities.

The migration pattern between Virginia and North Carolina differs significantly from that prevailing between Virginia and the District of Columbia. Much the largest number of Virginians who go to college in North Carolina are undergraduates (93 percent in 1968).

Cost could be a contributing factor in North Carolina's attraction for Virginians. For example, 841 Virginians were enrolled in East Carolina University at Greenville in 1968 paying an out-of-state tuition charge of $432. Similarly, North Carolina State University at Raleigh attracted 409 Virginians who paid a tuition of $882, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill attracted 615 Virginians who paid a tuition of $700. North Carolina also has a large number of private colleges where tuition is relatively low. For example, Elon College enrolled 431 Virginians in 1968 at a charge for tuition of $900. Higher tuition charges, however, do not necessarily remove the attractiveness of North Carolina colleges and universities. Duke University enrolled 522 Virginians in 1968 with a payment of $1,800 in tuition. At St. Andrews Presbyterian College, 211 Virginians (23.5 percent of the total enrollment) attended in 1968 with tuition payments ranging from $1,350 to $1,635. It is apparent, therefore, that some, but not all, of North Carolina's attraction for Virginians is to be explained by cost. Another factor may be that more North Carolina institutions were coeducational in 1968 than was the case in Virginia. This may be, and probably is, one explanation of the relatively large number of Virginia women who migrated to North Carolina to attend college. The drawing power of some North Carolina institutions is also enhanced by their geographical proximity to many Virginians.

Some of the same factors that influence Virginia's migration deficit with North Carolina can also be advanced to account for her migration deficit with Tennessee. Cost is quite likely a factor. For example, 1,034 Virginians were enrolled at East Tennessee State University in 1968 where they paid a tuition charge of only $200. And the 548 Virginians enrolled at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville paid tuition of $975. Moreover, Johnson City, where East Tennessee State University is located, is closer to parts of Western Virginia than this region is to many of Virginia's own colleges and universities, and thus geographic proximity may again help to explain the large number of Virginians regularly enrolled at East Tennessee State University.

On the other side of the coin, why does Virginia experience substantial migration surpluses with such states as New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland? First, it must be remembered that these states are heavy exporters of college and university students. Proximity would help to explain why, for example, many of the 117,256 residents of New Jersey and the 137,650 of New York who left their states to attend college in 1968 would have chosen Virginia. It is also true that the cost of going to college in these states, especially in the case of the private colleges, tends to be high, and it becomes easier to find a Virginia college or university where the cost, even for out-of-state students, is lower than it is at home. This is quite likely, for example, to be the case of the 1,610 residents of New Jersey who attended public institutions in Virginia in 1968.

In all, there were 40 states and the District of Columbia with which Virginia experienced college student migration deficits in 1968 and 9 with which it experienced migration surpluses. In the case of many of these states, the deficits and surpluses were quite small and may be explained in a number of ways. A family that has moved from its earlier home state often has ties there which mean that the sons and daughters go back to attend college. It is quite likely that these influences on the migration of college students will always be present. The fact that Virginia's experience is more on the deficit than the surplus side may be due to the large number of families who move to Virginia from all sections of the country to be employed by the Federal government or at one of the many national defense installations.

THE MIGRATION DEFICIT

In recent years when the capacities of institutions have been strained with more applicants for admission than could be accommodated, proposals to limit enrollments of out-of-state students have been offered in many states. Some public institutions have adopted quotas for out-of-state stu-

TABLE 4 / PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENROLLMENT BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1968

Educational Level	Sex		Institution	
	Men	Women	Public	Private
Virginians to other States				
Undergraduate	17,921	12,813	12,175	18,559
First Professional	1,178	115	173	1,120
Graduate	5,378	1,908	2,315	4,971
Subtotal	24,477	14,836	14,663	24,650
Other States to Virginia				
Undergraduate	10,641	10,604	10,049	11,196
First Professional	1,046	90	793	343
Graduate	1,711	451	2,000	162
Subtotal	13,398	11,145	12,842	11,701
Grand Total	**37,875**	**25,981**	**27,505**	**36,351**

dents under such pressure. And many more have steadily increased the difference in fees and tuition charges between in-state and out-of-state students. In the 1964 session of the Virginia General Assembly a bill was introduced, but not passed, that would have limited out-of-state students at public colleges and universities to not more than 25 percent of the total enrollment. Supporters of such proposals contend that the taxpayers of a state should not have to subsidize the cost of higher education for students from another state. Private institutions have not all been free of pressures to limit enrollments of students outside the group giving direct financial support to a particular institution. A church supported college, for example, is sometimes expected to favor applicants from families of the supporting denomination, especially when space is scarce.

Opposition to any limitation of out-of-state students in public institutions in Virginia has been strong. One objection arises from the fact that some of the schemes to limit enrollment produce undesirable side effects. For example, much higher fees for out-of-state students in an institution tends to make for a stimulating cosmopolitan student body - constituting an antidote to provincialism. Opposition is also voiced on economic grounds. The extra charges out-of-state students pay help to support a state's public institutions. Moreover, the money which these students and their families spend in the state to meet travel costs and living expenses contributes to that state's economy.

Another factor supporting the opposition to limitation is the greater likelihood that an out-of-state student may locate in Virginia after completing his education in a Virginia institution than if he obtains his education elsewhere. Even as alumni, it is often the out-of-state graduate who is a generous contributor to the support of his alma mater. Certainly, any argument in support of restriction is largely academic so long as Virginia has a migration deficit as large as 14,770 students and so long as the proportion of the total enrollment in Virginia public institutions which come from other states is no higher than the 17.5 percent for 1968 (see **Table 5**).

TABLE 5 / ENROLLMENT IN VIRGINIA INSTITUTIONS, 1968

	Total Enrollment	Virginia Residents	Percent	Out-of-State Residents	Percent
Public	73,243	60,401	82.5	12,842	17.5
Private	26,953	15,252	56.6	11,701	43.4
All	**100,196**	**75,653**	**75.5**	**24,543**	**24.5**

out-of-state students have a significant effect on the type of student who enrolls and thus modify the composition tion of the student body. Another strong argument against limitation is based on educational grounds. The presence of substantial numbers of

THE FUTURE MIGRATION PATTERN

Will Virginia continue to be a significant exporter of college and university students? Several developments may influence the answer to this question. In Northern Virginia the growth of George Mason College of the University of Virginia, especially as it adds strong graduate programs, may substantially reduce the number of Virginians who go into the District of Columbia for a college education. A similar development at Old Dominion University in Norfolk could have the effect of reducing the number of Virginians who go to college in North Carolina, particularly to institutions located in the Eastern part of that state. And the further growth of Clinch Valley College of the University of Virginia in Southwest Virginia could retain in the State a much larger number of students now attending schools in Western North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In addition, there is the recent growth in the admission of women to Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and the University of Virginia. Such increased opportunities for Virginia women in Virginia may well assist in reducing the State's college migration deficit in the future.

Another potential influence on migration, but one which is not now predictable, is Virginia's rapidly developing community college system. Certainly, many students who formerly left the State to secure a college education will find a nearby community college more convenient and less expensive to attend. As college costs continue to rise, these advantages may become more and more attractive. The influence of all these factors, which are at work but which cannot now be measured, will be reflected in the next survey of the migration of college students by the U. S. Office of Education in 1973.

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